

DEMOCRACY IN EDUCATION

EDUCATION FOR DEMOCRACY

Convention Issue



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The American Teacher

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ON BEHALF OF NATIONAL UNION OF TEACHERS I OFFER GREETINGS
 TO ANNUAL CONVENTION OF AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS WE
 REGRET THAT STERN CONDITIONS OF PRESENT TIMES PREVENT UNION
 REPRESENTATIVE BEING WITH YOU AND LOOK FORWARD TO TIME WHEN
 THAT WILL AGAIN BE POSSIBLE MEANWHILE WE ARE WITH YOU IN
 SPIRIT BECAUSE WE KNOW YOUR DELIBERATION LIKE OUR OWN WILL
 BE INSPIRED BY THE THOUGHT THAT THE FATE OF ANY COUNTRY
 DEPENDS UPON THE WISE EDUCATION OF ITS PEOPLE WE WISH YOU A
 HAPPY AND SUCCESSFUL CONVENTION=
 SIR FREDERICK MANDER GENERAL SECRETARY.

WESTERN UNION

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PLEASE ASSURE THE DELEGATES OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF
 TEACHERS OF MY SINCERE GOOD WISHES AS THEY COUNSEL TOGETHER
 CONCERNING THE RESPONSIBILITY OF EDUCATION FOR VICTORY AND
 PERMANENT PEACE. WHILE THE SCHOOL TEACHERS OF THIS NATION
 HELP TO SPEED THE DAY OF VICTORY, LET THEM NOT NEGLECT TO
 CULTIVATE THAT BETTER UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN PEOPLE AND
 NATIONS WHICH MUST UNDERLIE A PEACEFUL WORLD SOCIETY=
 FRANKLIN D ROOSEVELT.

Greetings from President Roosevelt and from the Teachers of England

The American Teacher

Published by

The American Federation of Teachers

AFFILIATED WITH THE
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

Editorial Board: Helen Taggart, Chairman; Arthur Elder; Lettisha Henderson; and Irvin R. Kuenzli.

October 1943

Volume XXVIII

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27th Annual Convention Held in Chicago

THE DEEP CONCERN of the American Federation of Teachers with the war and the postwar period was reflected throughout the entire twenty-seventh convention, which was held in Chicago, August 16-20.

AFT BUYS WAR BONDS TO PAY FOR AMBULANCES

After addresses of welcome by a representative of the mayor and by Victor Olander, secretary-treasurer of the Illinois State Federation of Labor, Anton Johannsen, vice president of the Chicago Federation of Labor, and Ira Turley, president of the Chicago Teachers Union, Mrs. Kathryn Breen, chairman of the local convention committee, announced that the AFT, through its Executive Council, had voted to buy enough war bonds to pay for two ambulances, and that the Chicago Teachers Union had voted enough to provide another.

Our front cover shows a photograph of one of the ambulances, standing outside the City Hall and bearing the banner of the AFT.

REPORTS MADE BY OFFICERS

The first morning session ended with the address by President John Fewkes. (See page 6.) In the afternoon Jessie Cline, president of the Illinois State Federation of Teachers, greeted the delegates and described the growth of teachers' unions in Illinois. Secretary-Treasurer Kuenzli's report (see page 10) constituted the main part of Monday afternoon's program.

AMERICAN RED CROSS SERVICE CLUBS IN GREAT BRITAIN DESCRIBED

After the report of the Credentials Committee and the adoption of the rules of the convention on Tuesday morning, G. Ott Romney, Director of Development and Operation of the American Red Cross Service Clubs in Great Britain, described the recreational facilities to be found in a typical club for American service men in England.

SELMA BORCHARDT REPORTS ON LEGISLATION

Selma Borchardt, AFT legislative representative and vice president, presented her report on legislation at the opening of the Tuesday afternoon session. Her recommendations concerning federal aid, labor and anti-labor bills, social se-



**CHARLES
STILLMAN,
FIRST AFT
PRESIDENT**

curity, postwar planning, anti-poll tax legislation, child labor and delinquency, the Pan-American Union, and international relations were clearly reflected in the reports of various committees, the resolutions passed by the convention, and the action taken by the Executive Council after the convention.

**MARY GILLETTE MOON TELLS HOW TO
GET FUNDS FOR CHILD SERVICES**

"How to Secure Federal Funds for Various Child Services" was the topic discussed by Mary Gillette Moon, Regional Supervisor of the War Public Service Division. (See page 33 for explicit directions on how to secure such funds.)

SCHOOL LUNCH PROGRAMS EXPLAINED

Oscar Beyer, of the Food Distribution Administration, Chief of the Nutrition and Food Conservation Division, addressed the convention on the community school lunch programs. He said that anyone interested in a school lunch program should get in touch with the area supervisor or the state supervisor of the Food Distribution Administration. Because of the limitation of funds, it is advisable to make lunches available or recommend lunches only in the schools where the need is greatest.

**PANEL PRESENTED ON AFT COMMISSION ON
EDUCATION AND THE POSTWAR WORLD**

One of the high points of the convention came at the close of the Tuesday afternoon session, when Dr. John Childs, Dr. George Counts, Secretary-Treasurer Irvin Kuenzli, and Vice President John Connors presented a panel discussion on the work of the AFT Commission on Education and the Postwar World. (See page 20.)

**WILLIAM GREEN SPEAKS AT DINNER
TO HONOR NEW AFT LOCALS**

The dinner given on Tuesday evening to welcome representatives from some of the sixty-one new locals was one of the most successful that the AFT has ever had. The program was broadcast over station WCFL.

Charles Stillman, first AFT president, spoke on the early history of the organization.

William Green, AFL president, was the principal speaker. He discussed the postwar plans of the AFL and called upon teachers to enlist their educational efforts in the cause of permanent peace after victory in this war is won. In order that more space may be given to his speech, the report of it will appear in our next issue.

EDUCATION IN THE ARMED FORCES DISCUSSED

On Wednesday morning, nominations for president and vice presidents were made. Then Lieutenant-Commander Ralph Sentman, representing the Army, Navy and Marine Corps, spoke on a subject of special interest to teachers: "Education in the Armed Forces." His address will be reported in our next issue.

**DR. FLOYD REEVES EXPLAINS PLAN FOR
DEMobilIZATION AND READJUSTMENT**

No part of the entire convention was more important than the program presented on Wednesday afternoon. The extremely significant address



**The National
Office Staff at
work at the
Convention**

by Dr. Floyd W. Reeves on "Demobilization and Readjustment" is reported on pages 14 to 17.

ERNEST GREEN DISCUSSES LABOR AND EDUCATION IN GREAT BRITAIN

Delegates were deeply impressed by the informative and stimulating talk by Ernest Green, General Secretary of the Workers' Educational Association of Great Britain, whose subject was "Labor and Education in Great Britain." Our next issue will contain a report of this speech.

WISCONSIN SCHOOL FOR WORKERS DESCRIBED BY E. SCHWARTZTRAUBER

Ernest Schwartztrauber, director of the Wisconsin School for Workers at the University of Wisconsin, described some of the work of the school. The problem in workers' education is to select teachers who know how to approach the problems of workers, Mr. Schwartztrauber said. Teachers in America have too long assumed that education belongs to the first quarter of an individual's life span. It is the teacher's job to help trade unions in their collective responsibilities and their collective action, so that they may work more constructively.

GEORGE GUERNSEY RESIGNS AS EDITOR

George Guernsey, Editor of the *AMERICAN TEACHER*, made his annual report and announced his resignation as of September 1.

EDUCATIONAL SECRETARIES GIVE TEA

The Educational Secretaries Union, of Chicago, Local 224, invited all the delegates to a tea at the close of the Wednesday afternoon session.



CANDIDATES FOR AFT PRESIDENT MARY WHEELER and JOSEPH LANDIS

ELECTIONS TAKE PLACE

The elections took place on Wednesday evening. The results were as follows:

President—Joseph F. Landis, 279, Cleveland.
Vice Presidents

Carl Benson, 250, Toledo, Ohio.
Selma Borchardt, 8, Washington, D.C.
John D. Connors, 688, Medford, Mass.
George S. Counts, 2, New York, N.Y.
Ruth Dodds, 31, Sacramento, Cal.
Arthur A. Elder, 231, Detroit, Mich.
Lettisha Henderson, 28, St. Paul, Minn.
Lila A. Hunter, 200, Seattle, Wash.
Mary E. Moulton, 691, Kansas City, Mo.
Mrs. Natalie F. Ousley, 4, Gary, Ind.
Mrs. Rebecca Simonson, 2, New York, N.Y.
Gerald Y. Smith, 89, Atlanta, Ga.
Stanton E. Smith, 246, Chattanooga, Ga.
Helen Taggart 1, Chicago, Ill.
Henry Zaber, 673, Belleville, Ill.

Consideration of resolutions and committee reports took up most of Thursday's and Friday's sessions.

A GREETING TO THE TEACHERS OF AMERICA

By JOSEPH F. LANDIS

At the beginning of this school year, the American Federation of Teachers extends a cordial greeting to all the teachers of America. If we really believe that education is democracy's first line of defense, it is incumbent on us as teachers to strengthen that line against the attacks incident to war-time stress. In the classroom, we must do better than our best. Professionally, we must resist retrenchment masquerading in the

guise of patriotism. To troubled youth, we must make clear that adequate training is the only hope of security in the postwar world. Victory in arms is now a certainty. Victory in liberation of the mind must be made sure by the devoted efforts of us all, so that the light of learning may shine undimmed to assure victory in the peace to come. To this great endeavor, we welcome you all.



Retiring President Addresses the Convention in Chicago

By JOHN M. FEWKES

I AM HAPPY to report that the American Federation of Teachers has enjoyed the most successful year in its history. Secretary-Treasurer Kuenzli's very able report will show that we have broken all records in the number of locals organized; greatly improved our financial standing; taken an active and increasingly important part in the activities of our parent body, the American Federation of Labor; greatly improved our publicity contacts and public relations; successfully aided many locals throughout the country in their efforts to gain financial aid for their schools and better working conditions for their teachers. We have worked closely with all of the governmental agencies devoted to the winning of the war and to the planning of the peace which we are all praying will not be long delayed. The American Federation of Teachers is beginning to reap the rewards of the hard work and keen intelligence displayed by the membership, the locals, and the Executive Council.

We owe a deep debt of gratitude to Dr. George S. Counts for the service he has rendered both during the three years he acted as our president and, if possible, a greater debt during the past year he has served as vice president. We have been particularly fortunate to have had two such fine examples of the best in classroom teachers as our friends, Vice President John Connors, and Mr. Harry Hazel, representing us as organizers for the past two years. We should, indeed, be thankful that Irvin R. Kuenzli has continued to serve as our secretary-treasurer for the past seven years. Much of the success of the organization is directly attributable to the capable and intelligent manner in which he has carried out the extremely important duties of his office. I now understand, after a year in the National Office, why Dr. Counts spoke so glowingly of the efficiency of our entire office force and their devotion to the cause of the American Federation of Teachers. It extends far beyond mere duty. The cheerful efficiency of the National Office as it performed its enormous task has been a constant joy during the year. The standing com-

mittees and the vice presidents have functioned under great difficulties and with meager resources; yet, the results of their work are evident in the increased membership and the effectiveness of our program and policies.

The American Federation of Teachers now has before it a great future. These last two years of unprecedented growth and service are only slight indications of the expansion in membership and the increase in national importance and influence that the A. F. T. is sure to experience in the next ten years. The teachers of America are rapidly turning to the American Federation of Teachers as the most effective medium through which they can serve the cause of education and restore teaching to the rank of a profession.

Doctors and lawyers are an essential, respected part of modern society and as such they command respectable fees for their services. Does it then seem reasonable that the school teachers of America who perform a service second in no way to that of either the medical or legal profession should find hundreds of thousands of teachers receiving less than \$800 a year?

Here in the State of Illinois, after several attempts, a bill calling for a minimum salary of \$100.00 a month for school teachers was passed by our legislature, and immediately vetoed by our Republican Governor Dwight H. Green, who was elected because of the wonderful speeches he made in support of the public schools and of the teachers and the attacks he directed against the Democratic Kelly-Nash machine and its flagrant corruption of Chicago's schools. Probably the large tax-dodging groups who are now attempting to close our city colleges had more influence with the Governor than the down-state school teacher receiving \$50.00 per month. There are few states in the Union that can actually give a true statement of the condition of their public schools and the treatment accorded their teachers without a blush of shame.

For years these conditions have been brought to the attention of educational and governmental

authorities everywhere. Yet little or nothing was accomplished until the great American Federation of Labor, at the request of the American Federation of Teachers, issued a declaration that in the opinion of the A.F.L., \$1,500.00 should be a minimum salary for school teachers and undertook a campaign through its central labor bodies to ascertain how many school teachers receive less than \$1,500.00 and to secure raises for them wherever possible. The A. F. L. recognized early in the war that there would soon be a scarcity of teachers and that the schools would be badly undermanned—if not closed. Boards of Education are now tardily discovering this fact. Many teachers have joined the military forces or have been forced to take better paid jobs in industry to meet the skyrocketing cost of living. The nation is consequently faced with a grave shortage of teachers just at a time when J. Edgar Hoover tells us that juvenile delinquency is increasing at an alarming rate. England warned us out of her own bitter experience that unless the schools were kept open and unless the teachers were made to feel that their jobs were vitally important to the actual war effort that we, too, would lose the battle on the home front even while our military forces become victorious abroad.

Teachers remaining in the profession will be unable to fulfill the great responsibility which lies upon their shoulders unless they become aroused to their unique place in life and attack their peculiar problems with intelligence, courage, and practicality. It is our duty to instill in the hearts of our pupils a love for and a loyalty to the principles of democracy and humanity which will make it possible to attain, and maintain, the four freedoms. This we cannot hope to do unless we have more than an academic, theoretical background from which we attempt to advise them.

J. P. Lohr, President of the Indianapolis Local of the American Federation of Teachers, expresses it thus: "When a teacher gives his attention only to teaching, he is like an oarsman who puts all of his effort into wielding his oars without thoughts of guiding the boat. Too few teachers apportion any appreciable amount of their time, effort, or financial support to the tremendously important task of guiding the course of education as a whole."

To restore teaching to the dignity of a profession, and to complete the emancipation of the

classroom teacher, it is necessary that the hundreds of thousands of teachers serving the nation at their all-important task for less than \$800.00 per year, without tenure, and without pension, have the four freedoms brought within their grasp.

The American Federation of Teachers, through its affiliation with the American Federation of Labor, offers teachers the only practical and effective avenue through which to give full and complete expression to their citizenship and through which to protect education during the war and in the even more dangerous period of reconstruction. The American Federation of Labor, since its inception, has been the most intelligent, consistent, and effective friend of the public schools.

As a more and more respected and active part of the American Labor Movement the A. F. T. will have a golden opportunity and the attendant grave responsibility of active participation, even leadership, in what is destined to be one of the most powerful directing forces in American life. I firmly believe that the organized labor movement of America will be the greatest single guiding force directing our nation toward the gradual realization of the ideals of democratic government our forefathers envisioned and toward which they and succeeding generations of loyal patriots have striven so gloriously. The great body of organized workers who comprise the American Federation of Labor represents such a large percentage of our population that to speak of them one must speak of the U. S. A. The history of the labor movement has, to a considerable degree, followed the pattern of the history of our nation. Founded to oppose the oppressor and to liberate men from unbearable servitude, the labor movement now sees its ranks divided by civil war. This breach will be healed and the labor movement will be welded together more strongly because of the tempering fires through which it has passed. John L. Lewis now sues for forgiveness and readmission to the Union he attempted to destroy. The membership of the A. F. L. and the C. I. O. have too much in common to permit leaders on either or both sides to dissipate for long the resources of the labor movement in further civil war. The farmers and the so-called white collar workers are rapidly realizing that their interests are identical with those of the men and women who work for a living, in the great trades and industries of our nation. The organized labor

movement will continue to increase in size and prestige.

Most of the social legislation which has been enacted by the Congress of the United States of America in the last fifty years has either been written, introduced, inspired, or aided to passage through the efforts of the American Federation of Labor. The recent Wagner Amendments to the Social Security Law were drawn up by the legislative committee of the A. F. L. No finer insurance policy against bloody revolution in our nation could be written than the social security program now being sponsored by the A. F. L.

Through the power of the American Federation of Labor, the A. F. T. is beginning to secure for education and for educators something more than the lip service and the neglect that until now has been their lot. Eighty percent of the teachers in England belong to the National Union of Teachers. A teachers' union of 800,000 members—and this is not beyond the realm of possibility—affiliated with the 6½ million men and women in the great American Federation of Labor could speedily raise the educational system of this nation to its rightful place of importance. The correlation of the increasingly divergent and conflicting efforts toward education of the public might be speedily accomplished through the establishment of a Federal Department of Education with a Secretary of Education seated in the President's Cabinet. With the proper safeguards, federal control of education is no more to be feared than the controls exercised by the other federal departments now existing. The education of our citizenry is certainly not less important than the preservation of our inanimate natural resources.

It is the peculiar duty of teachers not only to teach, but also to protect and improve the public schools of our nation. Organization is the first step in this direction. That organization must offer the teacher something more practical than our self-styled professional societies have yet been able to offer under the domination of superintendents who must follow the orders of their Boards of Education or be dismissed.

The close cooperation of our locals with their central labor bodies and state federations of labor brings to their aid a large body of the citizenry who are really interested in the schools and the teachers and who can, if necessary, change any situation through the power of their votes.

I am not suggesting that the A. F. T. become a purely bread and butter organization interested in wages and working conditions alone. We can neither fail to take part in national and international society, nor can we fail to keep our own house in repair. A strong American Federation of Teachers which successfully fights the battles of the classroom teachers and of education in our own country can speak with more authority about the problems of the world. If we can improve educational opportunities for the children in underprivileged areas in Chicago, in Kentucky, and in other areas of our nation we can then offer the peoples of Europe, Asia, and Africa a better brand of cooperation in solving the world problems of education.

There is an intelligent middle course between isolationism and international boondogling. The good neighbor must not allow himself to become a dictatorial old Uncle Sam meddling in the affairs of the family of nations to the point of out-wearing his welcome. Neither will Uncle Sam win confidence or store up love for himself by making promises he cannot hope to fulfill. In our efforts to practice the Christian doctrine of being our brother's keeper, we must be careful that we do not unthoughtfully become his jailer. We must, however, accept our full share of responsibility as one of the great nations of the world to provide all of the peoples of the earth with the opportunity to work out their own problems in freedom and security.

I have been quite disturbed this past year to hear intelligent people at various institutes, commissions, and meetings of all kinds devoted to planning for the peace speak of rehabilitation and re-education of the conquered and occupied countries in a manner to cause one to fear we might make in our own way, Hitler's mistake of forgetting that human beings have a great love of independence no matter what their nationality or the color of their skin. Condescension and patronage will never substitute for cooperation and genuine neighborliness. Our efforts to extend the four freedoms throughout the world must always be guided by the full recognition that other nations have a right to decide their own methods of education and their own systems of government. Those nations that have recently astonished the world with their continued refusal to become subject to their military conquerors will not take kindly to too close supervision even by their liberators. The booklet, *The United*

States, Russia, and the Communist Party, written by Dr. George S. Counts and Dr. John L. Childs for the A. F. T. Commission on Education and the Post-War World, is a sample of the timely and constructive thinking that the A. F. T. can contribute to world planning.

The April issue of *THE AMERICAN TEACHER*, the Jeffersonian Anniversary Number, also prepared by our Commission on Education and the Post-War World, should be put on the "Must Read" list for the teachers of America. It is a thrilling review of mankind's past and present aspirations. Herein we find the leaders of the United Nations expressing themselves as searching for ways and means to establish the brotherhood of mankind. Each one of them, very evidently, fully realizes the futility of isolationism and the fallacies of political, racial, or religious bigotry. The search for ways and means to insure every human being in the world an opportunity to enjoy the four freedoms is defini-

nitely under way.

The social and economic problems that must be solved at home and abroad before we are assured a just and lasting peace are staggering in their scope and complexities. Yet, the very fact that such thinking and such planning is going on in so many nations gives us proof that the world moves on steadily even if slowly toward better things. If this is not the last World War, it is at least bringing us much nearer to the last one. The practical application of the ideals set forth by the leaders of the United Nations will tax the ingenuity of the finest minds in the world and require the combined efforts of all of the intelligent people of every nation. Education will be the foundation stone sustaining any permanent peace. The teachers of the world will be the masons. We must build with love and understanding. Our motto ever: "Education for Democracy and Democracy in Education."

New President Urges Further Organization

Excerpts from the Address by
President Joseph F. Landis

By JOSEPH F. LANDIS

I AM NOT going to give you any educational philosophy or attempt to be profound. I think rather I should like to talk to the folks for a moment. Certainly I am intensely proud and deeply appreciative of the honor that has been conferred upon me. I am sensible also of the grave responsibility—not as it affects me, but as it affects you. The first time I ran for the presidency of the Cleveland local I felt very happy when I heard the result, but when I was called up to take the gavel I suddenly felt the weight of 4,500 teachers on my shoulders—not that our membership is that; but anything we do affects all teachers. I feel that weight this morning.

There are a few things about this convention that have made me very happy, and one of them is the fact of this session this morning. I think that we should aim in the direction of making it possible for the real business of our conventions

to be conducted in these sessions rather than delegating that responsibility and those duties to our Council as often has occurred because of the pressure of time.

I am glad that we have divergent views. God pity us if we didn't! We have lived through some trying periods. We don't need to refer to them. But I am very happy that we all are in agreement on one thing. We all are dedicating our lives to the creating of a better educational opportunity for the boys and girls of America, and I know of no group of people in the world serving any higher ideal or making any greater contribution than that. Yes, we disagree in many things, but so long as we are aiming at the same objective and trying to make a real contribution to American life and to a better America, we can live together and have our honest differences and still be friends.

Some of you have heard me suggest that when our membership is 100,000 instead of 30,000 or 35,000, we will shape the educational thinking of America. I think we have done that with our limited membership, but we can't carry our principles and ideals wholly into practice because we are numerically too small. That is why I think the biggest job before us is organization. I am

not worried about our educational leadership and our philosophy as long as George Counts and John Childs and men like them are with us. I am not greatly worried about our preserving our close contact with the American Federation of Labor as long as we have John Fewkes and others of like mind with us. I think that our major job is to build, and I thank God that we had the best year in our history from the standpoint of numerical growth. I think that the old word "zeal" should creep into our hearts and minds and motivate us if we really believe in this close union between the great organized labor movement that built this system—the American public school system—and our organization, so that we can bring to it a leadership that will make it a richer and finer and better thing, producing a better citizen more able to meet the problems of this terrible world in which we now dwell, a world in which the problems will multiply and increase—not lessen.

There is no security before any of mankind, in my judgment, except that security which is based on confidence, common faith and good will, and decent and considerate treatment for all men of all races and religions toward the founding of a better world. We can bring such leadership to

this great institution that organized labor founded, and I think our job is to build, as Mr. Fewkes suggested, a union of 800,000 teachers in America. Let's not put any numerical limitation on it, but let's say that we will build until this organization commands both the membership and the confidence of the majority of the public school teachers of America, because when that day comes, supported and aided by possibly 20 million citizens of this country who are affiliated with or sympathetic to organized labor, we can not only challenge the educational thinking of this land, but we can carry that challenge to successful consummation and effect the improvement of American education because of the weight and power of the force that we bring with us.

In conclusion, I should like to call on you to go out and meet this challenge and build as you never built before! It is imperative not only for the reasons suggested, but because of the beginning wave of opposition to organized labor which always is incident to war times. Let us build an American Federation of Teachers that will really improve the opportunities of the boys and girls of this land and let the light of learning become brighter everywhere.

The Union in Action in the Battle for Democracy



**Excerpts from the Report
of the Secretary-Treasurer
to the twenty-seventh annual
convention of the
AFT.**

By IRVIN R. KUENZLI

NEVER in the seven years during which I have served as Executive Officer of the AFT has there been greater satisfaction in reporting on the status of the national organization in the labor movement and in American education. In terms of the development of the organization itself and functional service to a nation at war against the Fascist dictators, the last year has been one of the most outstanding in the history of our international union.

Despite a nationwide, highly organized, and highly financed attack on the labor movement in America; despite increasingly vigorous opposition from non-union teachers' organizations; and despite heavy losses to the Armed Forces and war industries, our national organization has made excellent progress.

Three years ago in the 1940 convention at Buffalo, New York, the Secretary-Treasurer's report described an unusual upsurge of interest in the AFT among teachers throughout the nation. At the last convention in Gary, Indiana, it was my pleasure to report that this wave of interest resulted in the chartering of forty new locals during the fiscal year 1941-42. I am happy to report that the influx of new locals has continued and that sixty-one new locals have been chartered during the past fiscal year. The monthly report for July, 1943, showed a net gain of approximately 3,500 members. This figure rep-

resents a gain of $3\frac{1}{2}$ times the gain of the previous year.

In the number of new locals chartered, Ohio and Illinois lead, with six in each state; New Jersey ranks second, with five; Indiana, Kentucky and Montana, next, with four each. Three locals were chartered in each of the states of Alabama, California and Washington. Two locals were chartered in each of the following states: Iowa, Louisiana, Michigan, Nebraska, New Mexico, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania and Minnesota. One local was chartered in each of seven states: Connecticut, New York, Georgia, Kansas, Mississippi, Missouri and Delaware.

ONE HUNDRED NEW LOCALS IN LESS THAN TWO YEARS

Two years ago, at the national office, we set up a rather ambitious goal of chartering one hundred locals in the two-year period from July 1, 1941, to July 1, 1943. In June, 1943, the one hundredth local was chartered.

The chartering of one hundred teachers' unions—many of them strong, active locals in large cities—in a period of less than two years is one of the most important developments in the history of organized labor in the difficult field of organizing "white collar" unions. It has often been said that the postwar society of America will be determined to a large extent by the direction taken by the large, so-called middle-class group. One of the important contributions of the AFT to American democracy is its leadership in swinging this largely unorganized group into the ranks of organized labor. It is probable that the AFT is the most rapidly growing white collar union in the world today.

Under date of July 8, 1943, President William Green of the American Federation of Labor wrote as follows:

"I congratulate you and those associated with you upon the wonderful progress you have made in organizing teachers throughout the country. The fact that you have organized and chartered 100 unions in a little less than two years is evidence of the definite progress you have made. Keep up the good work and be assured of the continued cooperation and support of the American Federation of Labor.

"Very truly yours,

(Signed) "WILLIAM GREEN."

Mr. Frank Fenton, Director of Organization of the American Federation of Labor, under date of July 6, wrote as follows regarding the progress of the AFT:

"I was pleased to learn of the growth of your Organization during the past year. I have always been keenly interested in the success of your International Union. I am convinced that until we organize the teachers of America, we cannot expect a change in public opinion. With the growth of the Trade Union Movement and particularly a Teachers' Organization, we can develop a public opinion that will stop the American people from being misled by the press and by the politicians of our country.

"With kind personal regards and best wishes, I am,

"Fraternally yours,

"FRANK P. FENTON."

COMPARISON OF AFT WITH OTHER INTERNATIONAL UNIONS

The question is sometimes asked, "How does the AFT rank today in membership with other international unions of the AFL?" In the field of white collar unions the AFT is one of the four largest, being surpassed only by the American Federation of Musicians, the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks and the Post Office Clerks.

Of 106 international unions affiliated with the AFL, 32 unions have a larger membership than the AFT, 11 unions have approximately the same membership, and 63 unions have a smaller membership. *Roughly speaking, approximately two-thirds of the international unions in the American Federation of Labor are smaller than the AFT and approximately one-third are larger.*

STORM CLOUDS ON THE POSTWAR HORIZON

The prosperous condition of the AFT at the present time would seem to indicate clearly that the organization has gained sufficient strength and built up ample support in the labor movement to withstand attacks from any and all sources. Yet, the history of the postwar period of World War I reminds us that the same forces are at work today in American society which played such havoc in the labor movement and the AFT from 1920 to 1930.

The AFT was chartered as an international union of the AFL in 1916. By 1920 the membership had grown to more than 10,000, and 180 locals had been organized. By 1920 the postwar anti-labor drive was in full force, and certain rival teachers' organizations, alarmed by the progress of the AFT, joined with the manufacturers' associations in the drive against unions. During the next five years more than two-thirds of the AFT membership was wiped out and less than 3,000 members remained in 1925. *The net gain in membership during the past fiscal year is greater than the total membership of the national organization seven years after*

World War I. In the five-year period from 1920 to 1925 only 12 locals were chartered, and only 29 during the next five years. *Twenty more locals have been chartered during the past fiscal year than were chartered during the entire decade from 1920 to 1930.* By 1930 the membership had gradually increased to more than 6,000 and remained at approximately that figure until the era of progress beginning in 1933.

Now again in World War II there is a nationwide drive against the labor movement. The federal Congress has passed a strong anti-labor bill and similar bills have been introduced in the legislatures of two-thirds of the states. These same anti-labor forces, which almost destroyed the AFT after World War I, are now actively cultivating the friendship and cooperation of rival non-union teachers' organizations. Certain teachers' organizations—local, state, and national—are attempting to demonstrate that labor support may be secured without affiliation. A group of educational "hitch hikers" is developing which hopes to ride with Organized Labor without contributing anything to the costs of transportation. This group defines professionalism as a give and take proposition in which Labor gives and the teachers take. Even though confident of our own strength, we shall need to be everlastingly on the alert lest the AFT suffer another Dunkirk like that during the post-war period of the 1920's.

AFT LEADERSHIP IN THE LABOR MOVEMENT

The second phase of the Federation's progress during the past year is equally important—if not more important—than growth in membership; i.e., the increased prestige and sphere of influence of the AFT in and through the great labor movement of America. Membership growth is of importance only to the extent that the membership can be translated into service to humanity, to the social progress of the nation, and to the welfare of education.

The official convention call points out the fact that the AFT today is in a position to wield a far greater influence in the labor movement and in American education than ever before.

At the 1942 convention of the AFL in Toronto, two of the four AFT delegates served as secretaries of important committees and presented the reports to the convention.

Several officers of the AFT occupy important positions of influence in the labor movement. President Fewkes has represented the AFL at

a number of educational meetings during the past year. The Chairman of the AFT Commission on Education and Postwar Planning, Dr. John Childs, is a member of the Committee on Postwar Planning of the AFL. John Connors, AFT vice president, was recently elected to the position of full-time director of the Workers Education Bureau of America. Dr. George S. Counts, AFT vice president, is a member of the Executive Board, and your Secretary-Treasurer is a member of the Advisory Board of the same organization. Selma Borchardt, AFT vice president and legislative representative, is a consultant of the AFL in legislative and educational matters. Mark Starr, former AFT vice president and chairman of the standing committee on workers' education, has been chosen by the Office of War Information to serve as a representative of American labor and education in England. Stanton Smith, AFT vice president, is a member of the education department of the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union. Your secretary-treasurer is a member of the Permanent Committee on Education of the AFL, which was the first national committee to outline a program of education in relation to the war and the peace. In many other ways AFT officers and leaders are serving the labor movement. It is probable that no phase of our progress in recent years is so important as the extensive participation of AFT leaders in the program of the AFL.

KENTUCKY LABOR LEADERS BATTLE FOR SCHOOLS

Within the scope of this report it is impossible to describe the educational problems faced by our locals throughout the nation. Reports indicate that, almost without exception, our locals have battled courageously for the protection of education as the fundamental basis of American democracy. In certain areas this battle has been outstanding.

The organization of four new locals in the state of Kentucky during the present year was related directly to an educational crisis in that state. During the month of March, officers of our locals in Kentucky conferred with officials of the State Federation of Labor regarding the critical condition of the schools of the state of Kentucky. The median salary for teachers within the state was only \$780. In one district, teachers were teaching three schools by spending two days a week in each school and extending the school term into the summer months.

On Saturday, March 20, the president and

secretary of the State Federation of Labor, representatives of four AFT locals in Kentucky, and the secretary-treasurer of the AFT conferred with Governor Johnson regarding financial support for the schools of the state.

The group discussed the whole problem at length with the Governor, who promised to take steps to provide relief for the schools and to recommend appropriate measures for the next session of the legislature. In June, 1943, the Governor made available approximately two-thirds of a million dollars for increasing teachers' salaries. If the AFT had accomplished nothing else during the past year than bringing this help to the children and teachers of Kentucky, the existence of the Union would have been more than justified.

YELLOW DOG CONTRACT IN OKLAHOMA CITY

One of the most dramatic battles for democracy in education during the present year resulted from the adoption of a yellow-dog contract by the Board of Education in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma. Early in the present school year Mr. W. T. Hughes, a member of the organizing staff of the Teamsters' Union in Oklahoma City and a former public school teacher in the state of Oklahoma, became interested in organizing public school teachers. The Teamsters' Union generously instructed Mr. Hughes to devote as much time as he needed to the work of organizing a teachers' union in Oklahoma City.

On March 9, 1943, I happened to be in Oklahoma City and spoke at a small meeting of teachers who were interested in the AFT. Immediately after this meeting scathing editorials appeared in *THE DAILY OKLAHOMAN* attacking the union and accusing the Teamsters' Union of attempting to organize the teachers for racketeering purposes. A few days after this meeting, a bill was introduced in the Oklahoma legislature to prevent any public employee, with the exception of road workers, from affiliating with organized labor. When labor leaders distributed among the legislators AFT literature describing the true aims and purposes of the AFT, this bill was defeated.

On April 21, 1943, I again addressed a group of teachers in Oklahoma City, at which time nearly 200 teachers had either joined the new local or applied for membership. On May 14, 1943, the Board of Education adopted a resolution providing a yellow-dog contract denying employment to any teacher who joined a teach-

ers' union. The Central Labor Council of Oklahoma City and the Oklahoma State Federation of Labor are giving full support to the teachers.

President Green sent a stirring message of encouragement to the officers of the beleaguered local. The national office and the National Academic Freedom Committee requested all locals to send letters of protest to the Board of Education in Oklahoma City. Officers of the local report that the response from locals has been magnificent and that the teachers have been greatly encouraged by this nationwide support.

The situation in Oklahoma City is no less a battle for freedom than the combat in which our gallant men in the Armed Forces are engaging on the widespread battle fronts. To fail to give battle to a board of education which has revived the antiquated yellow-dog contract would break faith with the men who are fighting for democracy on the battlefronts of the world.

AMERICANISM IN PUEBLO, COLORADO

Another interesting battle took place in Pueblo, Colorado, where Local 567 grew from 14 members to nearly 100 members during the present year. When a new school board was elected in the city, the superintendent of schools, a former Commander of Post No. 2, Pueblo, of the American Legion was dismissed. The Legion Post took up the defense of the ousted superintendent and charged the AFT local with bringing about the dismissal of the superintendent. A vitriolic resolution was adopted and published by Post No. 2 charging that the AFT is shot through and through with Communism. This resolution was based in part on a telegram from Homer Chaillaux, National Director of Americanism of the American Legion, confirming Communist control of the AFT.

Letters and telegrams of protest were sent by Mr. Fewkes and myself to the Commander of the Legion Post, and President Green of the American Federation of Labor sent a strong letter of protest to the National Commander of the American Legion. On July 13 Mr. George Danfield, national secretary of the Labor Posts of the American Legion, invited me to speak at a meeting of the Joint Council of Labor Legion Posts in Chicago and to present the AFT side of the controversy between the Legion and the local teachers' union in Pueblo. This Council, representing some twenty Legion Posts in Chicago, unanimously supported the AFT and sent

the following telegram to the Commander of Post No. 2 in Pueblo, to the State Commander in Colorado, and to Homer Chaillaux:

"Chicago Council of Union Posts of the American Legion, composed of 20 Posts, at the regular meeting held July 13, 1943, upon a motion unanimously adopted most vigorously protest the action to date of Pueblo Post No. 2, American Legion, in participating in labor dispute involving the teachers' union and the board of education of Pueblo, all three principals involved being Legionnaires. It is unfortunate indeed that, in this seemingly political fight for a job, this Post resorts to the cheap political subterfuge of making public unsupported charges of Communism against two of their own comrade Legionnaires. Since it is a declared policy of the American Legion to maintain neutrality in all labor disputes, all the posts constituting the Chicago Council will file charges against Pueblo Post No. 2, to revoke the charter unless the post desists from such un-American activities which violate the fundamental

principles of the American Legion. It is extremely regrettable that this Post sought to use the office of the National Americanism Officer, Homer L. Chaillaux, for local political purposes, the publicity resulting from which would serve as a useful weapon for the Nazi propagandists who use charges of Communism to split the home front."

Under date of July 24 the Commander of Pueblo Post No. 2 wrote to President Fewkes apologizing for the action of the Post and commending the AFT for its stand against subversive activities.

THE EDUCATION PROGRAM OF THE AFL CONVENTION IN TORONTO, CANADA—OCTOBER, 1942

Climaxing a long series of activities in relation to education and the war effort, the 1942 convention of the AFL in Toronto, Canada, adopted an extensive program of education in—
(Continued on page 34)

Demobilization and Readjustment

From the address by Dr. Floyd W. Reeves, Professor of Administration, the University of Chicago, and Chairman of the Conference on Postwar Readjustment of Civilian and Military Personnel.

By Dr. Floyd W. Reeves

THE CONFERENCE on Postwar Readjustment of Civilian and Military Personnel was established by direction of President Roosevelt on July 6, 1942. After one year of work the Conference completed a report entitled *Demobilization and Readjustment*. It was this report which President Roosevelt released to the public on July 30, 1943. In a radio address two days prior to his release of the report, the President had made a number of recommendations substantially the same as those included in the report. The report contains ninety-six recommendations for specific action in connection with planning, directing, and administering the demobilization and readjustment program to secure a smooth transition from war to peace.

The period of transition will be no less critical than the period of the war; the problems con-

nected with it will be no less difficult; the dangers will be no less great. In all probability the transition period cannot be shorter than two years and it may be much longer than that.

If the war should terminate at the end of 1944, some 31,000,000 men and women, one-half of the total number employed, would at that time be engaged in war activities either as members of the armed forces or as civilian war workers. Our armed forces will be scattered all over the world.

Demobilization may take one, two, or even three or more years. But in a brief period of time—three months at the most—almost 7,000,000 jobs in war industries will have disappeared. The workers in war industries and those veterans who are demobilized will suddenly find themselves out of work. Within a period of six months there may be between 8,000,000 and 9,000,000 unemployed. To complicate the situation, the war workers will be far from their former homes, for the war has brought about one of the greatest periods of migration in the history of the nation.

Our success in securing a rapid military demobilization and a smooth readjustment of men and women from the armed forces will be determined largely by our ability to bring about a rapid and orderly conversion of industries from war production to the production of consumers'

goods. The main reliance for employment must be upon private industry. But public works and public services also have a contribution to make in creating employment. Many programs of public works and public services have been interrupted by the war. A large back-log of vitally needed public improvements exists, just as there is a back-log of consumers' goods.

Important efforts are now being made by private industry and by various groups in some parts of the country to develop employment opportunities. If these efforts are reasonably successful, the greatest peril to readjustment—unemployment—can be overcome in a reasonable time on two conditions: first, that public works are provided for the transition period; and, second, that an adequate program of social security is established.

Present social security provisions are inadequate. The existence of an adequate and comprehensive system of unemployment compensation would assure at least a minimum income free from the taint of charity for demobilized military and civilian personnel who do not immediately secure jobs. The task of demobilization would also be materially reduced if measures were adopted to encourage the retirement from industry of aged persons for whom old age benefits are now inadequate.

With reference to veterans benefits, the nation has already made a number of provisions for the veterans of the present war. It has recently passed an Act which provides for the rehabilitation, including education and training, of those with service-connected injuries. The Selective Service System has a Reemployment Division to assist in the reemployment process. Employers are now required, under certain conditions, to reemploy their former employees after they are demobilized from the armed services.

Present provisions for veterans, however, are still inadequate. A number of important questions must yet be answered.

For those being demobilized from the armed services the Conference recommended, among others, the following provisions:

1. Three months' furlough at regular base pay not to exceed \$100 a month, plus family allowances.
2. Beyond that time, if necessary, unemployment insurance for 26 weeks for those who register with the United States Employment Service.
3. Special aid and counsel regarding readjustment and rehabilitation.
4. Special provision, including tuition and allow-

ances, for those who wish to pick up the broken threads of their education or follow some special course of training.

5. Veterans' credit for old-age and survivors insurance on the basis of service in the armed forces.

6. Opportunities for agricultural employment and settlement for a limited number of qualified service men. But in general, agriculture should not be looked upon as a dumping ground for the industrial unemployed, since the problem is broader than that of agriculture alone.

For civilian war workers specific recommendations are made for setting up readjustment centers. Through these centers counsel, assistance, and retraining would be made available to assist in readjustment to other jobs and to strengthen the existing employment agencies for their heavier load.

One of the best means of meeting the problems of the transition period will be through opening up educational opportunities to those demobilized from the armed forces and from war industries. By the time this war ends, several million boys and girls and young men and women will have interrupted their education to enter the armed forces or to go to work in war industries.

Many of those leaving school or college during the war may wish to resume their education. It would be highly desirable that they do so because general, technical, and professional education would all greatly assist in the manpower readjustment process. Among the recommendations of the Conference on this point are the following:

1. For service men desiring to resume industrial or other employment, a program of vocational and job training designed to prepare them to reenter their old jobs or occupations or to find appropriate employment in new ones.
2. A program which will permit young ex-service men whose education on this account has been interrupted to resume their education and will afford equal opportunity for the education of other young ex-service men of ability following demobilization.
3. The provision of training and educational opportunities for men in foreign service and particularly for those who may for any reason be waiting for repatriation or demobilization.
4. The programs of the United States Armed Forces Institute and other voluntary educational services of the armed forces should be continued and expanded as a necessary adjunct to the process of demobilization. It is recognized that these existing educational services will then be directed more toward preparing men for the resumption of civilian occupations than they are at present and that this will necessarily involve a redirection of their efforts and reorganization of their programs.
5. Full use should be made of the records in service for the direction of educational programs and for

the purpose of educational and vocational guidance.

6. As a policy, all training and educational programs for men in the armed services prior to their release from active military duty should be carried out under the direction of the services, and the men during this period should be subject to such regulations, disciplines, and controls as may seem necessary to the officers of these services.

7. Training and educational programs for those who have been demobilized should be subject to the direction of civilian authority and carried out by the regularly constituted educational institutions, and during this period the men themselves should be free from the discipline and control of the armed services.

The Conference recommended that the educational program should make provision for two major educational plans for ex-service men and women:

(1) a general plan designed to meet the needs of the great majority of ex-service men, and (2) a supplementary plan designed for those who had entered upon an extended educational program which was interrupted by the period of military and naval services, and for other specifically qualified ex-service men who could benefit by a more extended educational program.

Under the general plan designed for the majority of ex-service men who wish to secure more education, the following nine specific recommendations were made:

1. Training under the general plan should be open to all ex-service men who are qualified for or who have received a discharge other than dishonorable from the armed services.

2. At any time during the 3-month period of "leave" or "furlough," or the ensuing 12 months during which men are eligible for unemployment

compensation, they may elect to enter upon a program of training or education under this general plan.

3. When men enter upon such a course of training or education, their rights to unemployment benefits would naturally cease. If, however, they enter upon courses of training or education or secure employment during the 3-month period when they are on leave or furlough, this should in no way prejudice their right to receive the payments under the plan for separation pay.

4. Under this plan, both general and vocational or professional education and training should be provided, but, vocational or professional training and education should not be provided in those fields or for those occupations in which the supply of trained personnel is already large enough to meet anticipated employment demands.

5. Training and education under the general plan should begin at whatever level is appropriate for the individual concerned. The duration of the training period should not exceed one year.

6. A consulting service should be provided to advise, guide, and direct men to the courses of study appropriate to their individual needs.

7. The forms and methods of study and training under this plan should be suited to the needs of those being demobilized from the services—that is to say, they are to be conducted as mature and adult undertakings even in cases where the subject matter is not of an advanced character, as judged by our usual academic standards.

8. Wherever necessary, special courses and methods of study should be developed in schools, colleges, and other institutions and agencies, including apprenticeship and other types of training in business and industry.

9. Those eligible for training under this plan should receive free tuition and reasonable but modest allowances for maintenance of such a character as will not serve to restrain them from accepting em-



THE CONVENTION IN SESSION

ployment or induce them to continue in the education and training program unless they have the serious intention to benefit from it.

The general educational plan set forth in the nine recommendations just presented provides education and training for a maximum of one year's time. It was thought that this would be adequate to meet the needs of the great majority of ex-service men and women desiring education and training. The Conference recognized, however, that this general plan is too limited to deal adequately with the fields of advanced education, or the more extended needs of professional and vocational education, because the whole process of education will have been so seriously interrupted during the war that there will undoubtedly be a shortage of specially educated and qualified persons in many fields. For this reason it was deemed desirable to provide a supplementary educational plan to meet such special needs. This supplementary plan is set forth in the following eight recommendations:

1. The general educational plan should be supplemented by provisions for more extended opportunities in the fields of higher education and of technical or professional education.

2. Any persons who are judged eligible for a discharge from the armed services other than dishonorable, and have served in the armed forces for at least 90 days, should be eligible to apply for such supplementary education. Selection from among those applying for supplementary education should be on a competitive basis.

3. The supplementary education should be made available under a system of scholarships carrying with them reasonable maintenance allowances.

4. Scholarships should be administered in such a way as to encourage the education of men for technical and professional occupations in which there are likely to be shortages of adequately trained personnel.

5. No scholarships should be offered in fields in which there is already an over-supply of trained persons or in which there is little likelihood of satisfactory and useful employment.

6. In order to provide equal opportunities among those who are being discharged from the armed services at various times during the demobilization process, a number of scholarships in each field should be made available within determined time intervals, and the number of scholarships made available should be made proportional to the number of men being discharged from the services within these time intervals.

7. Any course of supplementary education provided to an individual should not exceed a 4-year period, including any education provided under the general educational plan. All courses of education should be accomplished within a period of 6 years following the termination of the present war, as declared.

8. Continuation of the student in his program even after selection has been made should depend upon his academic and general progress.

In the field of higher education, the Conference made the following recommendations:

1. Each institution of higher education participating in the program should determine how many and what kind of demobilized personnel it can accommodate, the program which it can best offer, and the internal adjustments necessary.

2. The Federal Government should encourage national associations of educational institutions to develop a coordinated program for the education of demobilized service personnel.

3. The Federal Government should also undertake to provide such supplementary funds for the support of education as may be needed to make possible the provision of a comprehensive educational program for demobilized service personnel.

In discussing education at the high school level the Conference pointed out that such education is focalized in state departments of education with which the United States Office of Education has close contacts. It recommended:

1. The Office of Education should make an inventory of the facilities for specialized secondary and vocational education which may be available for post-war training.

2. The Bureau of Labor Statistics and the United States Employment Service should provide information regarding the prospective employment requirements of post-war industries and the types of training best calculated to equip demobilized service men to avail themselves of these employment opportunities.

3. Industrial establishments which are to be re-staffed for peacetime purposes should be encouraged to develop in-service training programs and to cooperate with educational institutions in developing apprenticeship programs. In admitting trainees, definite provision should be made for the inclusion of an appropriate quota of ex-service men.

With reference to workers demobilized from war industries the Conference pointed out that jobs in civilian life will appear in new constellations which will undoubtedly require that workers be trained or retrained for new jobs. It also pointed out that new industries will appear which will require training for new operations and new jobs. With these facts in mind it made the following recommendation:

The Federal Government should assist in providing an extension of educational services for workers displaced from employment because of demobilization and the termination of war contracts, to equip them for employment in peacetime industry. Training should be confined to occupations in which there is an unsupplied demand for specially trained workers and to new trades and occupations developing in civilian industry.



TWENTY-SEVENTH ANNUAL CONVENTION DINNER

About 400 delegates and friends attended the annual convention dinner, which was held on Tuesday evening, August 17. John Fewkes presided. Charles Stillman, first AFT president and a member of Local 1, Chicago, told of the early days of the AFT. Part of the program, including the speech of William Green, AFL president, was broadcast over station WCFL. Representatives of



new locals were introduced by Secretary-Treasurer Kuenzli. Members of the Labor Posts of the American Legion posted the colors. Excellent music was provided by an outstanding ensemble composed of Enlo Bolognini, famous cellist, William Fantozzi, of the Chicago Symphony Orchestra, violinist, and Walter Steindel, conductor and pianist of the Chicago Park Concerts, pianist, and by Miss Jay Murie, soprano, and Andrew Grant, tenor, both of Local 1.



Dr. John Childs

Report of the Commission on Education and the Postwar World

A summary of a panel discussion presented by Dr. John Childs, Dr. George Counts, Secretary-Treasurer Kuenzli, and Vice President John Connors

THE WORK of the AFT Commission on Education and the Postwar World, Dr. Childs said, is grounded in three convictions: first, that a strong, independent labor movement and a free, democratic public education program would both be doomed were the world to be conquered by the Fascist powers of Europe and Asia; second, that democratic agencies such as organized labor and public education have no promising future in a withholding economy; third, that the war system and democracy are not permanently compatible in our interdependent, technological world. The Commission believes that the human race will either find an alternative to the practice of war, or the free, non-regimented, non-military way of life which is identified with American democracy will disappear.

These considerations have their implications for the people of the United States. At the close of this war the United States will have unequalled economic, military, and political power. The choices of policy made in the sphere of domestic economy and of international affairs will have far-reaching consequences. The evidence also shows that the last Congress had no adequate sense either of its opportunity or of its responsibility. Either the people will get a better Congress in 1944, or the prospects of America's doing its part to organize a postwar world in harmony with the "four freedoms" will not be good.

There is ground for the hope that if we organize for political action, that if we make the real issues clear, the American people will respond and will re-enact the democratic program as opposed to the program of defeat and selfish reaction. It is critically important, however, that we should be able to distinguish the real from the spurious alternatives that now confront us. Our choice is not any longer a choice between national, peaceful, self-sufficiency (national isolation) versus participation in some kind of world or-

ganization or system of collective security; the real choice is a choice between some form of American imperialism and militarism, versus a program of international economic cooperation and mutual political security.

If the people of this nation want to create conditions for economic progress and political security, they must build bridges across two great gulfs:

- a. One is the gulf that divides the capitalist-democracies from Communist Russia.
- b. The second is the gulf that divides the white world from the colored world. Postwar conditions must satisfy deep-moving aspirations of the people of China, India, and the so-called Colonial peoples.
- c. As tragic events in California, Detroit, and Harlem have shown recently, we shall not have peace within our own country unless we can bridge this gulf of color and get rid of long-standing discriminations and prejudices.

In the domestic sphere the actual choice is not one between the freedom of private enterprise on the one hand and the bureaucracy of centralized governmental control and planning on the other. The real issue is not planning versus *laissez faire* and unregulated competition. The choice today is not planning and regulation versus individual freedom and private initiative. It is rather a question of who is to do the planning and regulating, and for what purposes. Shall we have planning to maintain full employment and full production, or planning to maintain prices and profits or privileged minority classes? Shall we have planning for controlled use and conservation of our national resources or for their ruthless exploitation and waste?

All of the foregoing has bearing on the program of organized labor and the program of the American Federation of Teachers. But the important activities of the AFT and of organized labor generally are not enough. Attention must

be given to the development of the basic framework of economic, political, and international institutions in which these continuing day-by-day struggles must of necessity be carried on. Both labor and education need today a bold and realistic political program, a political program to deal in each city, in each state, and in each section of the country with the basic issues of American and world civilization. These issues cut across the traditional party lines. Unions must be organized, but either these unions shall be used to organize a new America and a new world, or democracy will not survive.

The Commission then reported on its work during the past year and its plans for the new school year. Dr. Childs called on Dr. George S. Counts to review the publications of the Commission during the past year. Dr. Counts opened his report with an expression of appreciation for the splendid work of Dr. Childs on the Commission and the great amount of time he had given to this work and would give in the future.

Two documents have been published by the Commission: 1) *America, Russia and the Communist Party in the Postwar World*. The Commission has entered into a contract with John Day Company of New York City, who published this book, to publish the remainder of the books or booklets of the Commission, the royalties to go to the American Federation of Teachers. Up to the present 3,400 copies have been sold. The book was also published serially in the *New York Post*. In reviewing the book and its purposes, Dr. Counts pointed out that in the postwar world, the two great powers will be Russia and the United States. If understanding between these two great nations is achieved, there is a chance for peace; without it, war is inevitable. Up to this time, that understanding, from all indications, has not been achieved. The achievement of collaboration between these great powers will not be easy. Therefore, the Commission felt it was important to publish a thoroughly objective account of the background of this problem.

The second publication of the Commission was the Jefferson's Birthday issue of the *AMERICAN TEACHER*. In addition to the copies mailed out to the members of the Federation, 5,000 copies were sold to other persons and groups. *Frontiers of Democracy* has put that issue of the *AMERICAN TEACHER* on the "must" list of reading materials for all teachers. Carter Goodrich, Chairman of the International Labor Office, has sent copies

of the issue to European labor leaders as one of the best statements on the question of the aims and purposes of the war, from our country's standpoint.

Regarding projected publications Dr. Counts reported that the Commission has planned a book on "Youth and Postwar America." Youth will face a very difficult situation and as yet in America the people have not devised an adequate program for the instruction of the young in this strange industrial society.

Another publication that the Commission has contemplated is a volume on "Labor in the Postwar World," having in mind the interpreting of the labor movement to the American people. Labor has done much for the AFT, and it would be the purpose of this volume to endeavor to present labor's case to the American people.

Secretary-Treasurer Kuenzli, a member of the Commission, reported on the reception of the first publication of the Commission by the American public. He read a number of notices from papers, commentators, and the labor press, all reporting enthusiastically on *America, Russia and the Communist Party in the Postwar World*.

Dr. Childs completed his report by discussing with the delegates the work of the AFL Committee on Postwar Planning, of which he is a member, and listed for the delegates the organizations with which the Committee has met to discuss postwar problems: The British Trade Union Movement; Research Staff of the Committee for Economic Development (probably the most influential committee that business and finance has in the field); Professors Shotwell and Condliff of the Commission to Study the Organization of Peace; Norman Davis and the staff of the American Red Cross; Mr. Vail and some of his staff from the Friends Service Committee; Governor Lehman and some of his staff of the Office of Foreign Relief and Rehabilitation; Senator Ball, representing Senators Ball, Burton, Hatch, and Hill, who have introduced a very important resolution calling for postwar international cooperation; Mr. Blaisdell, one of the directors of the National Resources Planning Board; Mr. Larry Frank, a member of the staff; Mr. John Carson, head of the United States Employment Bureau; Mr. Ely Culbertson,



Dr. George Counts

author of the *World Federation Plan*; Dr. Davenport and the staff of the Bureau of Labor Statistics; the staff of the International Labor Office, including past director Harold Butler and Carter Goodrich; Professor Lindsay Rogers; Wilfred Jenks of the British Office; Mr. Robert Watt, American Federation of Labor; the representatives of the American Labor Conference on International Affairs.

The Commission has been exploring with these persons and groups both the domestic and the international aspects of the problems of the postwar world. Dr. Childs reported that he had been asked to chair the AFL sub-committee on Education and Social Welfare and a sub-committee on Minorities, which includes two Negro members and which will include someone from California representing the situation there and also David Dubinsky, representing one of the largest unions in New York City and the United States.

Dr. Childs reported that the American Federation of Labor Committee had voted to set aside Labor Sunday and Labor Day to dramatize labor's interest and labor's stake in the postwar problems and in the making of the peace, and he asked John Connors, a member of the Commission, to speak on that question.

Mr. Connors urged upon the delegates the desirability of educating the general public on labor's stake in the postwar world and the opportunity to make Labor Sunday and Labor Day of this year a demonstration to the American public of what labor hopes for in the postwar world.

He said that Secretary-Treasurer Kuenzli had sent a communication to each AFT local, with suggestions for carrying out such a program, and that President Green of the AFL had sent an official communication to each of the central labor unions throughout the country.

Mr. Connors called attention to seven pamphlets prepared by the AFL, with planned speeches and ideas that speakers might use. These pamphlets were sent to the offices of the central labor unions.

The delegates were asked to check with their central labor unions to see that the program sent out by the AFL to those bodies was carried out, that radio programs were planned, and that meetings were held. Mr. Connors said that the cooperation of the Catholic clergy, the rabbinate, and the Federal Council of Churches of Christ of America had been promised.

It was pointed out that the AFT had a special responsibility in this program.



Vice-President John Connors Directs Workers' Education Bureau

The AFT is proud to report that the new director of the Workers' Education Bureau is our own Vice President John D. Connors, who is succeeding Spencer Miller.

John Connors is extremely well fitted for his new duties, since his wide teaching experience has been supplemented by many years of active participation in labor organizations. Not only has he been one of the most prominent figures in the AFT in recent years, but he was employed as a

general organizer by the AFL from 1940 until he assumed his present position, he served as vice president of the Massachusetts State Federation of Labor for three years and was a delegate to ten of its annual state conventions, and he served several years as secretary and several as vice president of the New Bedford Central Labor Union, to which he was a delegate for eight years.

We know he will be a credit to the AFT, for, as Spencer Miller said of him, "he has the mind, the heart, and the will to render a service of lasting value to the workers' education and labor movements."

Our Legislative Program

1. A program for federal aid for schools, permanent and emergency (covered by the resolution adopted by the convention, page 25).

2. Cooperation with the AFL on the program to develop a sound social program for retraining and rehabilitation.

3. Enactment of the AFL social security bill 1161, and further consideration of ways and means of getting social security for teachers not now having pensions, while preserving existing sound state and municipal pension systems.

4. Immediate enactment of state laws protecting tenure and pension rights of teachers in the armed forces and of those temporarily engaged in war work.

5. Repeal of the Smith-Connally Act.

6. Preservation of the laws on child labor and school attendance.

7. Funds for the Office of Education for research work.

8. Increase in funds for free lunches and continued Lanham Act funds with full instructions regarding the use of these funds to go to all locals. (See pages 4 and 33.)

9. Increased funds for the Pan-American Union as provided in the Lima Conference Agreement.

10. A resolution to be presented to the AFL convention asking for a place for education in the new world machinery, recognizing the difference in the machinery which would deal with education and that which would deal with other questions, recognizing that education is not limited to formal schooling and demanding a respect for the cultural autonomy of all peoples.

Taxation Program

The 1943 convention re-endorsed the general principles of taxation as approved by the 1942 convention. Locals and state federations were urged to support a vigorous program for the application of these principles to specific tax measures now being considered by the Treasury and soon to be presented to Congress.

THE INCOME TAX: The income tax is the one form of taxation best calculated to combat inflation and bring about a more equitable distribution of sacrifices necessary to win the war.

The present income tax can be made more

effective by eliminating:

- a. Tax-exempt securities.
- b. Automatic allowance for depreciation.
- c. Separate income tax returns for husband and wife.

To increase income tax revenue in accordance with wartime needs and as a means of checking inflation, the convention endorsed the following program:

1. Inheritance and gift taxes should be taxed at the same rates as other income.
2. Taxes on middle and upper income groups should be sharply increased.
3. Corporation income taxes should be increased and excess profits must be drained away.
4. To the extent that the fight on inflation, war needs, and shortages of consumer goods demand curtailment of purchasing power of those in the lower income brackets, such curtailment should be accomplished by rationing and effective price controls aimed at uniformity of sacrifice by those at all income levels. Any necessary decrease in purchasing power at lower income levels should be accomplished by forced savings rather than by lowering exemptions or increasing income tax rates on lower bracket incomes.
5. The income ceiling of \$25,000 after taxes should be placed on individual incomes.

OPPOSE FEDERAL SALES TAX: All AFT locals and state federations should vigorously protest to the Treasury and to their representatives and senators against the adoption of a Federal Sales Tax. Such a tax with the exemptions proposed would yield only 3 to 4 billion dollars annually at a rate of 10%. A federal sales tax would be expensive to administer and require essential personnel at a time of acute man-power shortage. Finally, the sales tax is inequitable and however disguised with exemptions, exceptions, rebates, etc., should be opposed.

DISPOSAL OF GOVERNMENT OWNED WAR PLANTS: Specific information and recommendations should be issued to locals and state federations on the manner in which the billions of dollars of federal funds invested in war plants and equipment may best be employed in the public interest. Sound public policy demands that such plants be used in a manner that will insure

1. maximum postwar employment
2. that the federal investment will not be sacrificed if such plants revert to private ownership
3. that whatever the manner of disposal of these plants it be so as to lessen the concentration of economic power.

EXEMPTIONS FOR EDUCATIONAL EXPENSES: As educators we recognize that the education of many young people may be abruptly curtailed unless some provision for exemption for education expenses is incorporated in the federal income tax law. The Convention Committee suggests that some provision for such deduction be made in the federal income tax law.

MISCELLANEOUS TAX PLANS: Taxes such as payroll taxes, taxes on gross income, tax limitations on real estate are being suggested in

various parts of the country. These plans merely complicate the tax picture and make more difficult the proper integration of local, state and federal taxation, which sound tax policy and necessary support of schools and public services require. Even though these taxes are often "put over" under the guise of financially aiding the schools, they should be thoroughly examined and opposed if they are contrary to the sound economic principle of basing taxation on ability to pay.

Weaknesses of Senate Bill 637 Analyzed

NEA AID BILL VIOLATES BASIC PRINCIPLES

Many schools face an emergency; thousands of them did not re-open this fall because of lack of sufficient funds to secure teachers; thousands more will undoubtedly close within the next few months. For this reason a careful appraisal of Senate Bill 637, which would provide some federal aid for schools, is needed so that friends of the federal aid program may determine whether the bill, if enacted into law, would accomplish its avowed purpose.

The principles which the AFT believes should be observed in the framing of a sound program are outlined on the opposite page, in the resolution entitled "Federal Aid to Education." S637 fails to satisfy the requirements set forth in sections 3, 6A, and 6C of the "Resolved."

1. *S637 makes little provision for equalizing educational opportunity as between states.* Under Section 2A of S637, \$200,000,000 annually is to be apportioned to the states on the basis of the 1940-41 average daily attendance. This is two-thirds of the total provided for in the bill. According to the provisions of this section over half of this amount—\$105,472,200 to be exact—will go to the twenty-two states which are now spending at the average or above the average amount spent per school child. This will mean that for each child in Mississippi for whose schooling \$25 yearly is now being spent, an additional \$9 will be allocated; similarly for each child in New York State, where current per pupil expenditure was \$135 in 1939-40, an additional \$9 will be allocated.

Two-thirds of the total appropriation will be allocated in this fashion without regard to tax-paying ability of the various states, the type of

school services offered in those states, or the salaries paid teachers within them. It does not seem reasonable that this appropriation should be referred to as an emergency allocation since the bulk of it is going to states where school expenditures, salaries, and school program are either close to or decidedly above the national average.

Under Section 2B, \$100,000,000 is to be apportioned to the states, presumably on the basis of need. Actually, there is only partial distribution on this basis. Pennsylvania, for example, which under a strict interpretation of the need formula would receive nothing, would actually receive \$5,802,874. Michigan, Illinois, Indiana, and Ohio are also wealthy industrial states which would benefit by the inequitable application of the need formula in addition to the large sums they would receive under Section 2A of the bill.

2. *S 637 makes little provision for ensuring that federal funds will be distributed equitably within the states.* The \$200,000,000 provided under Section 2A, distributed on a per child basis, are to be used by the states to increase teachers' salaries, with the stipulation that no state shall receive funds unless (1) the state appropriation for school aid purposes to local districts is maintained at a sum not less than the total amount or the amount per pupil in average attendance that was spent in 1942, and (2) the state pays federal funds only to local districts which pay average salaries to teachers not less than those paid as of February 1, 1943.

It is quite evident that states may comply with these requirements with no obligation to use the increased funds to more nearly equalize

salaries within their boundaries. Past experience in many states, as well as the precedent that would be established by the federal government in adopting an aid program based on expediency rather than on educational needs, suggests that states might follow a similar policy. *There is nothing in the bill as proposed that would compel states to pay either a definite minimum salary or devote all or the major part of the federal funds to increasing substandard salaries.*

Funds under Section 2B may be used either for increasing teachers' salaries or for all types of expenditures for public elementary and secondary schools. These funds might be used for building, maintenance or any other purpose approved by the State Legislature.

3. *Perhaps one of the weakest features of S637 is its lack of provision for ensuring that states will equalize opportunity for minority races, such as the Negroes.* In Louisiana, for example, where Negroes now constitute 35.9% of the population, \$61.21 was spent on each white pupil as against \$12.62 on each Negro

child in 1939-40. Under S637, the maximum safeguard provided is that at least 35.9% of the total funds appropriated to Louisiana shall be devoted to improving facilities in Negro schools.

In operation this would mean that federal aid would increase the amount available for each white child from \$61.21 to \$76.40, while for each Negro child it would be increased from \$12.62 to \$23.61. It should be noted that the rate of rejection from May through December, 1942, for educational deficiencies in Louisiana was 22 whites as against 118 Negroes for each 1000 inductees. For many other states where similar situations exist it would seem that the emphasis should be on a type of federal aid definitely aimed at a real improvement of schools for the minority race.

S637, therefore, would do little to ensure equalization either between states or within states. It incorporates few of the educational standards which the AFT regards as essential. It does not seem to be soundly conceived from the standpoint of achieving either a permanent or an emergency federal aid program.

RESOLUTIONS

In order to facilitate study of the convention actions by the locals it was decided to print in full all resolutions passed by the convention. The few not published in this issue will appear in the next. Thus it will not be necessary to send copies of the resolutions to all locals, as was recommended by the convention.

Federal Aid to Education

WHEREAS, The war has brought into glaring relief the inequalities in educational opportunity which exist in our nation; and

WHEREAS, The United States Army has rejected an alarmingly large number of selectees for illiteracy; and

WHEREAS, It has been the practice in some states to discriminate against Negroes and other groups in the provision of educational opportunities; and

WHEREAS, The financing of an equalized program of education on a national basis is impossible by local and state governments alone; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the American Federation of Teachers call upon the Congress to enact legislation which will provide:

1. Federal aid to the states to en-

able the states to maintain their schools;

2. That in the program granting aid provision for permanent aid be in a bill separate from the bill granting emergency aid;

3. That the fund be distributed among the several states on the basis of an objective standard which will be predicated upon the recognition of the relative need among the several states for such aid;

4. That the funds for the benefit of the schools be distributed within the States in keeping with state law;

5. That funds be made available to the states to enable them to care for the well-being of all the children in every state.

6. That the following minimum essentials be written into the law granting such aid to the States:

A. All funds be distributed in such a manner as to prevent discrimination against minority groups or minority races.

B. The plan of distribution adopted within each state be made public before the funds are actually disbursed;

C. Each state be asked to work toward a minimum entrance salary of \$1,500 per year for every professionally trained, properly certified teacher in that state;

D. Minimum length of school year;

E. Statutory protection of tenure of employment for teachers;

7. The introduction and extension of a sound program of adult education in all states.

High School Students and the Manpower Shortage

WHEREAS, Students are leaving our high schools in alarming numbers to go to work; and

WHEREAS, The type of "training" these young people get on the job—valuable as it is—is not a substitute for the type of education and training they lose by leaving school; and

WHEREAS, The labor shortage has not become so acute that the nation needs to curtail the education of its young people under 18 years of age; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the American Federation of Teachers urge its locals and the American Federation of Labor and its constituent locals to take the following action:

1. Urge local employers to use older men, women, handicapped individuals, and those discriminated against, especially the Negroes, before they recruit full-time workers from among high school students, causing them to drop out of school before graduation.
2. Propose to the local Manpower Commission that a voluntary registration of women be instituted where the labor shortage is acute in order that women in homes where there are no young children be made aware of their country's needs and the part they should play in defense.
3. Suggest ways and means to local school boards so that:
 - a. every possible adjustment will be made to retain in school young persons who feel that they have to work, by adjusting the hours when they report to school or leave school daily.
 - b. school schedules will be re-organized so that adults who have left school may seek further education no matter on which shift they work.
4. Lead a Stay-in-School drive in every community so that students may continue as long as possible in their first and main job—school; and be it further

Resolved, That the locals be instructed to promote the organizations of local educational programs for young people of pre-induction age, so that they may

1. Achieve a higher level of general health;
2. Learn what adjustments are

necessary for effective induction into military life;

3. Secure a minimum of basic skill;
4. Understand the background and purposes of the war and the problems of postwar readjustment;
5. Otherwise broaden their concepts of social responsibility.

Racial and Religious Discrimination

WHEREAS, Racial and religious discrimination against members of the darker races, Catholics, Jews and other minority groups is a denial of the ideals, guarantees and fundamental principles of American democracy and is also a cardinal element in Naziism and Fascism; and

WHEREAS, Such discrimination in industry and in the armed forces is preventing the full use of our manpower, is undermining military as well as civilian morale, thus seriously impeding the war effort and is breeding racial tension and group antagonisms culminating in riots which besmirch our honor and lessen our influence as a nation with the peoples of the world; and

WHEREAS, Effective prosecution of the war demands full use of the labor power of racial minority groups, it therefore becomes imperative that these groups be granted privilege of participation in the war effort on the basis of

- (1) equal opportunities for employment
- (2) equal advancement for skill and training,
- (3) equal pay for equal work done
- (4) equal access to education, homes, recreation, medical care, and all public services
- (5) equal rights and privileges in all matters affecting work, and life

WHEREAS, Racial discrimination within the ranks of organized labor as practiced by a few of its affiliated unions is causing irreparable injury to the labor movement which is the chief citadel of industrial and social democracy; therefore, be it

Resolved,

1. That the Federal Government be urged to strengthen and support adequately the Fair Employment Practice Committee, to further its scope and power and thus enhance its effectiveness; and
2. That the A. F. of T. urge on the President of the United States an intensified program to procure and secure these rights wherever they are denied. Such a program should include full publicity in

such cases of discrimination in employment, prosecution where necessary, and a broad educational program to acquaint the nation with the need for full use of the labor power of all our people; and

3. That the A. F. of T. urge on the A. F. of L. and other labor organizations to take effective steps to abolish immediately and completely any discrimination that may be practiced within their ranks; and

4. That copies of this resolution be sent to the President of the United States, to the Chairman of the Fair Employment Practice Committee, to the War Labor Board, to the War Manpower Commission, to the Economic Stabilization Director and to the President of the American Federation of Labor and other labor organizations.

American Citizens of Japanese Descent and Japanese in Relocation Centers

Resolved, That the American Federation of Teachers urge President Roosevelt and the War Relocation Board to release speedily from the relocation centers all loyal American citizens of Japanese descent and all Japanese whose loyalty to the United States and its democratic institutions is unquestioned, so that these may enjoy the rights and privileges to which they are entitled.

Repeal of the Chinese Exclusion Act

WHEREAS, The United States Senate unanimously denounced the treaty on extraterritoriality with China and thus the United States took a step toward healthier and more democratic international relations in postwar Asia; and

WHEREAS, The ban on the Chinese and other Asiatic immigration to the United States constitutes a reflection on the good faith of our nation's declaration of the principles of fair treatment and equal opportunity for the common man the world over and is further an insult to our heroic ally, China; and

WHEREAS, If Asiatics are permitted to enter under the quota regulations of the present Immigration Act, the numbers involved are so small as to constitute no danger to the stability of our economic system; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the American Federation of Teachers go on record as opposed to special restrictions on the immigration of Chinese and other Asiatics and approving the

admission of such immigrants to citizenship under the same conditions as other immigrants; and be it further

Resolved, That the American Federation of Teachers urge its locals to secure the support of the Congressmen in their area for the repeal of the Act; and be it further

Resolved, That the delegates of the American Federation of Teachers to the American Federation of Labor Convention urge the A. F. of L. to reconsider its position on exclusion and take a positive stand in favor of the repeal of the Chinese Exclusion Act.

Seditious Activity

WHEREAS, There have occurred numerous outbreaks of public violence against Negroes, Mexicans, and other minorities which threaten to have disastrous effects on the all-out war effort unless they are immediately checked; and

WHEREAS, There is being conducted a widespread, organized distribution of anti-Negro, anti-Semitic, anti-Mexican propaganda which serves to lay the foundation for such outbreaks, and

WHEREAS, The dissemination of such propaganda and the fomenting of inter-racial conflicts are the publicly-exposed work of a widespread movement, the aims of which are to disrupt the war effort and to undermine democracy in the United States and whose leaders are known to the authorities; therefore, be it

Resolved,

1. That more thorough and immediate federal investigation be made of these outbreaks and the real leaders and instigators be disclosed and brought to trial.

2. That the thirty-three persons who have been indicted for sedition, as well as other known disseminators of seditious propaganda be speedily brought to trial.

3. And, that copies of this resolution be sent to President Roosevelt and Attorney General Biddle.

Pensions and Social Security

Resolved, that the A. F. of T. record its approval of the principles embodied in the Wagner-Murray bill (S. 1161), but we urge careful rewording of the sub-chapter entitled 'Voluntary Compacts for Coverage of State and Local Employees,' so that it is quite clear that only the contributors and pensioners of an existing pension system shall be given the power to decide that their group shall come under the provisions of the Act.

A Tribute to Ruth Wanger

While the convention was in session, a message was received telling of the death of Miss Ruth Wanger, president of the Philadelphia local, AFT vice president during the difficult and strenuous year of 1940-1, and one of the outstanding teachers of America. The convention passed the following resolution:



WHEREAS, God in His infinite mercy, has removed from our midst, Ruth Wanger, after a long and painful illness; and

WHEREAS, She served as regional Vice President during one of the most critical periods of our history; and

WHEREAS, She gave untiringly of her limited strength to the solution of Federation problems and the strengthening of the American Federation of Teachers in Philadelphia; and

WHEREAS, She was an outstanding leader in instituting more democratic practices in school administration; and

WHEREAS, She made a valuable contribution to the development of better understanding within her school and community through recognizing the contributions of various national groups; and

WHEREAS, She inspired all who came in contact with her—with her courage, integrity and deep spiritual nature; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Twenty-seventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Teachers express to her family their deepest sympathy at her loss; and be it further

RESOLVED, That copies of this resolution be sent to Philadelphia Local 3, the faculty of the South Philadelphia Girls' High School, and the Philadelphia press; and be it finally

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be spread upon the minutes of this convention.

The resolution was passed unanimously by a rising vote, followed by a moment of silent tribute.

Substitute Teachers

WHEREAS, The Board of Education of the City of New York has established the practice, over a period of years, of employing so-called "permanent substitute" teachers; and

WHEREAS, These substitutes have passed rigorous examinations and are on eligible lists for regular teaching positions, but nevertheless are continuously employed at low pay and without tenure or vacation pay; and

WHEREAS, This practice is both unjust to the hundreds of devoted eligibles as well as a constant threat to the standards of the regular teachers; and

WHEREAS, This unjust practice drives many competent teachers from the school system, thus depriving the schools of essential manpower and

seriously impairing their efficiency; and

WHEREAS, This practice is a flagrant violation of the basic democratic and trade union principle of equal pay for equal work; and

WHEREAS, Vacancies arising out of long-term leaves do exist for the regular employment of these eligibles; and

WHEREAS, This practice of the City of New York may serve as a bad precedent for other school systems of the United States; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the American Federation of Teachers condemns this practice of utilizing 'permanent substitutes' and demands the immediate appointment of the eligibles to regular teaching status, and recommends concurrence in this action by the American Federation of Teachers to the American Federation of Labor.



GLIMPSES OF THE CONVENTION

- (1) Delegates registering.
- (2) Vocational education committee — chairman, Mary Kasman.
- (3) Tenure committee — chairman, Gertrude Gilmore.
- (4) Pension committee — chairman, Mildred Page.
- (5) Old and new Executive Council members.
- (6) Publicity and public relations committee — chairman, Mary Kasman.





ES O E CONVENTION

ations committee—chairman,
Mary Herrick.

Delegates coming out of a
convention session.

International relations com-
mittee—chairman, Irving
Fullington.

State federations committee
—chairman, Jessie Cline.

Educational policies com-
mittee—chairman, Dorothy
Well.



The Smith-Connally Act

WHEREAS, The Smith-Connally Act was passed under the guise of preventing strikes in war industries; and

WHEREAS, This Act has been characterized as among the most vicious anti-labor acts passed in a century; and

WHEREAS, This Act has, among others, these defects:

1. It tends to foment strikes;
2. It forbids contributions by labor unions to political parties, a restriction which is not applied to most other voluntary organizations;
3. It discriminates against labor leaders and organizations by providing unusually severe penalties; and

WHEREAS, This Act, by oppressing labor and injuring morale of workers, hampers the war effort; and

WHEREAS, It is the duty of those on the home front to protect the rights of the men in the Armed Forces, one-third of whom are members of organized labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Teachers take the following action:

1. To wage a campaign for the repeal or invalidation of this Act.
2. To defeat the Congressmen who voted for the Act, and to seek and support candidates for Congress pledged to its repeal.
3. To carry on an educational campaign so that the public may realize the dangers of such legislation in a democratic society.

The No-Strike Policy and Rolling Back Prices

WHEREAS, Labor in good faith has adopted a no-strike policy for the duration of the war and has been publicly commended by the President of the United States for its adherence to this policy; and

WHEREAS, Certain employer groups have taken advantage of this policy to undermine labor's standards and to destroy labor unions; and

WHEREAS, It has been emphasized by our government officials that we are fighting a two-front war, at home and abroad, and that a major fight on the home front is against inflation; and

WHEREAS, The continued rise in the price level has placed an undue share of the burden of the war upon labor and low income groups; therefore, be it

Resolved, That this 27th Annual Convention of the American Federa-

tion of Teachers commends labor's no-strike policy; and be it further

Resolved, That we call upon our executive and legislative departments to carry out an effective program for rolling back prices and preventing inflation.

Labor in Politics

WHEREAS, A majority of the members of Congress have indulged in a series of actions, including: passage of the Smith-Connally Bill, attacks on price regulation and on the Farm Security Administration, and the National Resources Planning Board, and restriction of the activities of the Office of War Information, which actions sacrificed efficient conduct of the war to politics as usual, labor-baiting, and the interests of selfish minority groups; and

WHEREAS, The only body of voters sufficiently numerous and organized to stem the tide of this threat to our war effort is to be found in the ranks of labor; be it

Resolved

- 1) That the AFT pledge itself to exert its best efforts for the defeat of the members of Congress who have supported the legislative action cited above, at the forthcoming election, and that it call upon the AFL to mobilize its entire membership for this purpose;
- 2) That the AFL be urged to invite all other labor groups to join with it in building a solid labor front for the elections;
- 3) That all labor locals, Federations and other units be urged to initiate immediately efforts
 - a) to obtain full registration of labor voters, especially in areas where there has been a large influx of workers into war industries;
 - b) to make an early choice of pro-labor win-the-war candidates;
 - c) to develop organizations for the election of such candidates over incumbents who have betrayed the interests of the nation and endangered our victory; and
 - d) to extend the polling hours so as to enable workers on all shifts to exercise their right of franchise.

Voting Restrictions and the Poll Tax

Resolved, That the American Federation of Teachers support the anti-poll tax bill and urge its locals to secure the support of their Senators for the anti-poll tax bill as a first step in the removal of suffrage

barriers; and be it further

Resolved, That the delegates of the American Federation of Teachers to the American Federation of Labor Convention secure its endorsement for the anti-poll tax bill and for the enforcement of the 14th amendment.

New York City School Administration

WHEREAS, The Mayor and Board of Estimate of the City of New York have cut by more than four million dollars a minimum budget requested by the Board of Education, in spite of the growing demands on the public school system in this war emergency and period of increasing juvenile delinquency; and

WHEREAS, The Mayor through budgetary control has refused to certify at least 25 administrative and clerical positions requested by the Board of Education, thus impeding the efficiency of the school system; and

WHEREAS, The Mayor, through his policy of non-appointment, clearly seeks to control the Board of Education and the school administration; and

WHEREAS, These actions of the Mayor constitute dangerous intrusions on the administration of the public school system; and

WHEREAS, the responsibility and powers for effective administration should rest with the duly appointed Board of Education; and

WHEREAS, The great majority of the children attending the schools of New York City are the children of workers; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor since its inception has worked sympathetically and constructively in the interests of children through the promotion of the public school system, and this interest has expressed itself in seeking to secure educational appropriations and safeguarding education from political control; and

WHEREAS, By its size and importance, the City of New York necessarily sets a standard in educational administration for the country as a whole; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the American Federation of Teachers, in convention assembled, requests the American Federation of Labor, through its Committee on Education, to exert every effort to the end that the full administrative powers of the New York City Board of Education be restored, and that in so doing the education of the children of the City of New York may be safeguarded from personal and political ambitions.

Refusal to Appoint Mark Starr

WHEREAS, The Board of Education of the City of New York refused the appointment of Mark Starr as Director of Adult Education of New York City; and

WHEREAS, Mark Starr's competency was manifested by his certification by the Board of Examiners and Board of Superintendents as the only candidate to survive a rigorous examination, as well as by his nationwide reputation as educational director of the ILGWU; and

WHEREAS, The President of the Board offered as his major reason for voting against the applicant that Mark Starr was a "protagonist of labor," and

WHEREAS, Such a standard for educational office would automatically bar all members of the organized teacher union movement from promotional advancement in the educational system; and

WHEREAS, Such action is a blow at the entire labor movement, since it sets labor apart from other groups in the community; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the American Federation of Teachers condemns the Board of Education of the City of New York for its ill-advised action in the Mark Starr case; and that we join the labor movement of New York City and other communities in support of legislation which would provide that Boards of Education be representative of basic elements in the community, including labor, and that Boards of Education be urged to formulate standards for educational positions which shall be based on merit alone.

The Cases of Lovett, Watson, and Dodd

WHEREAS, The Congress of the United States, in the case of Professors Robert Morss Lovett and Goodwin Watson and Mr. William Dodd, Jr., took action that violated the Constitutional provision against Bills of Attainder, the provision safeguarding due process of law, and the Bill of Rights, and

WHEREAS, The method of depriving these men of their positions was

by attaching riders to vital appropriation bills. A rider to the Urgent Deficiency of 1943 dismisses Watson and Dodd November 15, unless the President has them reappointed and the Senate has confirmed the appointments before that date. A rider to the Interior Department appropriation bill abolishes Lovett's position, and

WHEREAS, The President has already in a press conference, denounced as unwise, unwarranted and definitely unconstitutional the action of Congress in preparing to remove these employees from the Federal payroll without a hearing, on the vague charges of subversive activity; therefore be it

Resolved, That the American Federation of Teachers condemn such undemocratic and dangerous action by the Congress; that it request the President to reappoint Watson and Dodd as soon as possible in order that they can be confirmed in their positions by November 15.

Resolved, Further, that the A.F.T. go on record as urging that Professor Robert Morss Lovett be appointed to a Federal position comparable to the one of which he was deprived.

Resolved, Further, that copies of this resolution be sent to all Congressmen who voted against the three Government officials, and that letters be sent commending those Congressmen who upheld proper and constitutional procedure by refusing to condemn these men without a fair hearing.

A Hearing for Professor Charles W. Lightbody

WHEREAS, Professor Charles W. Lightbody was dismissed from St. Lawrence University without specific charges or hearing after twelve years of service; and

WHEREAS, The National Academic Freedom Committee of the American Federation of Teachers has investigated the case and found St. Lawrence University guilty of violations of academic freedom and tenure; be it therefore

Resolved, That the American Federation of Teachers in convention assembled urges that Professor

Lightbody be given an impartial and proper hearing upon such charges as may be brought against him, and that the National Academic Freedom Committee be empowered to press the case with all possible speed; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be sent to the members of the Board of Trustees of St. Lawrence University and released to the press immediately.

U.S. Participation in International Affairs

WHEREAS, One of the fundamental causes for war is international anarchy; and

WHEREAS, This cause underlies aggressive imperialism and militarism; and

WHEREAS, The Trade union movement has ever striven to substitute a reign of law for that of force in international affairs; therefore, be it *Resolved*, That we urge Congress to pledge our participation in a world federation based on democratic principles and international cooperation.

Policies in Liberated Countries

WHEREAS, The United Nations are committed to the recognition of the rights of all peoples to self-determination in government, and to the advancement of democratic practices throughout the world; and

WHEREAS, The task of carrying out these principles in the conditions of confusion which follow the cessation of armed conflict, may present almost insuperable difficulties in fascist countries; be it

Resolved, That the A.F.T. urge upon the United Nations the establishment of a program for the governing and rebuilding of the liberated countries which recognizes the rights of all people to self-determination in governments, encourages maximum civilian leadership and control, and includes the participation of the free labor and educational forces in each country; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be sent to the President of the United States and to the Secretary of State.

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The Answer to the Chaos in the Organization of Teachers

By IRVIN R. KUENZLI

World War II, like World War I, has brought sharply into focus many of the weaknesses in the social and economic structure of American democracy. Outstanding among the revelations of total war is the need for more effective organization of teachers in the United States. Paradoxically the teachers of the nation, representing more than one million highly skilled workers, are the most over-organized and at the same time the most unorganized group of employees in the Nation.

The total failure of attempts to form an over-all central liaison agency in the present emergency to speak for all of the numerous educational organizations in the nation, is graphic evidence of the chaotic condition in the organization of teachers in America.

Many educational leaders have deplored the failure of American teachers to organize into a strong national organization with striking power consistent with the important place of education in a democratic society. Few have spoken as boldly and emphatically as Dr. Willard Givens, Executive Secretary of the NEA, in his keynote address at the 1943 convention of the organization in Indianapolis. Dr. Givens stated in part:

"There are in the United States today about 5000 local teachers associations. Most teachers in city school systems belong to local groups; perhaps half of the rural teachers belong to some kind of county or regional organization. Most of these groups are loosely organized. They meet two or three times each year; their membership dues are trivial; their programs deal chiefly with classroom problems . . .

"There are state teachers associations in all of the states and territories. Collectively they enroll nine out of every ten teachers. Potentially all of them are powerful. Actually many of them are dominated by small cliques and do not have the unwavering support of their members. In many states the organization neglects, if it does not ignore, the local associations . . .

"The National Educational Association enrolls one teacher in five. Its dues are only \$2 a year—the same as they were in 1875. By virtue of numbers, wise investments, and devoted participation of local and state leaders, the Association has built an influential professional program. The present strength of the

Association lies in the cooperation and goodwill of local, state, and national leaders supported by little or no formal or legal organization. Excellent as the local, state, and national associations are with respect to professional problems, they are too casually organized to compete with pressure groups in American life. The Association's chief weakness is in the field of teacher welfare and in mustering legislative pressure where rapid and integrated action is demanded . . .

"Is it possible that teachers associations as now organized, with small dues and limited welfare programs, can compete indefinitely with the organized groups that have expansive and powerful purposes? If not, then what are the leaders of present teachers associations going to do about the situation? Is the policy of drift sufficient to insure the development of a strong, independent organization of professional associations? . . ."

It was largely because of the ineffectiveness of existing teachers' organizations that the AFT was organized in 1916 as an international union of the AFL. The AFT believes that teachers cannot hope to stand alone against the powerful and highly financed pressure groups in American society which constantly seek to curtail education. Teachers have neither the funds nor the numbers to battle alone against such overwhelming odds. The AFL, of which the AFT is an integral part, is thirty times larger than the largest educational organization in the nation. More important than mere numbers, however, is the fact that the AFL has battled for public education over the years and has a current education program unsurpassed by any national organization whether lay or educational in character. Furthermore, nearly all important social legislation in recent years has been enacted largely by the AFL—in contrast to the almost complete failure of non-union teachers' organizations in attempting to secure federal legislation in the field of education.

The rapid growth of the AFT in recent years and the chartering of more than one hundred locals in the last two years, is graphic evidence that the AFT has found, in affiliation with organized labor, the answer to the chaos of teacher organization in America.

How to Secure Federal Funds for Schools and Other Child Services

From the convention address by Mary Gillette Moon,
Regional Supervisor of the War Public Service Division.

If you live in a community in which the schools or other child services are suffering because of the sudden increase in population as a result of the expanse in war industries, you should know that federal funds are available, under the Lanham Act, to provide for such situations.

In order to be eligible for Lanham Act funds, an application has to be submitted to the Federal Works Agency and after it has been passed on there, it goes to the President, who must make a finding that in the particular area in question an acute shortage of public works, comprising the maintenance and operation of schools or other public utilities necessary to health, safety, or welfare of persons engaged in national defense activities, exists or impends.

How do you tell the Federal Works Agency whether you have a war impact in your community? First, by the existence in that community of industries that are carrying out war orders. The community will have an increase in population and an increase in student load. If the community hasn't enough money to pay its bills, it is eligible to make application. The application is made by the school board and is a sworn statement of need. The Federal Works Agency administers these funds. Communities should apply to the Federal Works Agency, North Interior Building, Washington, D. C. They will refer the applicant to the right office or see that some representative of the Federal

Works Agency calls upon the applicant and provides him with the proper application blanks to make the application.

After the application is made, if the government finds that the community does not have the money to get through the current school year, that application is approved at the Washington office and an offer comes out from the Federal Government directly to the school district. After the offer is accepted, it becomes a contract between the Federal Government and the school board. There is one important paragraph in the Act. "No department or agency of the United States shall exercise any supervision or control over any school with respect to which funds have been or may be expended under this Title, nor shall any term or any agreement under this title relating to any lease, grant, loan or contribution made under this title to or on behalf of any school prescribe or affect its administration, its personnel, its curriculum, its instruction, its methods of instruction or materials for instruction." In other words, when the application is approved, the money can be used to repair the plumbing, to pay the teachers, to buy books (to a limited extent), to pay janitors, or for anything else that is a legitimate charge to the school administration.

It is important to get the application in early, so that the community may expect approval early in the fall.

The New Executive Council Starts Its Work

The newly-elected Executive Council met immediately after the close of the convention and worked strenuously for three evenings and two days, accomplishing, among other tasks, these things:

1. They read and considered carefully the reports and recommendations of all committees which had not had time to make complete reports at the convention. Appropriate action was taken on all such reports and recommendations. In every case where there was a standing committee studying the same problems as a

convention committee, the Council directed that the reports and recommendations of the convention committee should be turned over to the standing committee, so that the labor of the convention committee would not be lost, but would be useful during the coming year.

2. The vice presidents were assigned areas of supervision, as follows:

Carl Benson—Ohio, West Virginia.

Selma Borchardt—District of Columbia, Maryland, Delaware, Virginia.

John Connors—Connecticut, Massachusetts, Vermont, New Hampshire, Maine, Rhode Island.

George Counts—Colleges throughout the country.
 Ruth Dodds—California, Utah, Arizona, Nevada,
 New Mexico, Colorado.
 Arthur Elder—Michigan.
 Lettisha Henderson—Minnesota, Wisconsin, North
 Dakota, South Dakota, Iowa.
 Lila Hunter—Washington, Montana, Oregon, Wyo-
 ming, Idaho.
 Mary Moulton—Missouri, Kansas, Oklahoma, Texas,
 Nebraska.
 Natalie Ousley—The country as a whole.
 Rebecca Simonson—New York, Pennsylvania, New
 Jersey.
 G. Y. Smith—Georgia, Florida, South Carolina,
 North Carolina.
 Stanton Smith—Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi,
 Louisiana.
 Helen Taggart—Indiana, Metropolitan Chicago.
 Henry Zaber—Illinois (except Metropolitan Chica-
 go), Arkansas, Kentucky.

3. Chairmen of standing committees were appointed, but since there has not been time to find out whether all those appointed will accept the position, their names will not be reported until the next issue.

4. The president was authorized to appoint

a representative committee of the membership, as recommended by the convention, to study the election procedures of the AFT and report at the December meeting of the Executive Council.

5. To carry out the recommendation of the convention, "that the Executive Council be asked to set up a committee to study convention procedure, with a view to increasing the time for committee work and committee reports, and for consideration of organizational and program problems facing the locals," the question was referred to the committee of the Council on the convention program, this committee being composed of Carl Benson, chairman, Helen Taggart, and Arthur Elder.

6. Another \$500 was appropriated to continue the active support of the work of Mr. W. T. Hughes in behalf of the Oklahoma City Teachers. For details of this case, see the report of Mr. Kuenzli in this issue.

7. Several tenure and academic freedom cases were considered.

8. Plans for organization were made.

9. A budget was adopted.

The Union in Action

(Continued from page 14)

cluding action on the major educational problems facing the nation. (See *American Teacher*, Nov. 1942.)

One of the most significant actions of the 1942 AFL convention had to do with education in the postwar world. Again the AFL took the lead in urging that financial resources and credit be established at the close of the war for rebuilding educational institutions. Although literally hundreds of committees are working on postwar reconstruction and although thousands of pages have been written on the postwar world, it is probable that there is no more significant declaration on this subject than the statement by delegates at the Toronto convention representing 6,500,000 workers.

AFT AND AFL SUPPORT WORKERS' EDUCATION PROGRAM FOR WAR AND PEACE

Realizing the serious need for a nationwide system of adult education in relation to the war effort and anticipating the danger of failing to profit from the experimental program of the W.P.A., Mrs. Roosevelt invited a small number of leaders in labor and education to the White House on September 25, 1942, to discuss this

whole problem of workers' education in the present emergency. It was my privilege to serve as one of the representatives of the AFL at this meeting. This group of some twenty persons representing the AFL, the CIO, the railroad brotherhoods, and adult education agencies, agreed that a national program of workers' education should be established and made a permanent part of some agency of government—possibly the U. S. Department of Labor or the U. S. Office of Education. In accordance with the decision of this conference, a resolution was introduced at the 1942 AFL convention in Toronto, Canada, urging that a national program of workers' education be set up. The report of the education committee on this resolution paralleled the action of the last AFT convention on the same matter.

FORWARD TO VICTORY AND PEACE

In summary, therefore, we may say that this twenty-seventh annual convention of the American Federation of Teachers climaxes one of the greatest years in the history of the organization. We have marched shoulder to shoulder in the vast army of 6,500,000 workers on the home front against the enemies of freedom and democracy.

OWI Asks Help in Maintaining Security of Military Information

AT THE urgent request of the Office of War Information, Major Albert J. Stowe, one of the outstanding authorities on Military Intelligence, presented to the convention a special message on the important service which teachers can render in checking the spread of rumors and in maintaining the security of military information.

"Right now, two men are locked up in New York awaiting the justice due them as enemy agents," said Major Stowe. "One of these confessed to getting his information by hanging around places where defense workers and service men gathered and picking up a chance remark here, another there, and doing it so effectively that he was able to fill out many a picture long puzzling to the German intelligence.

"Bits of fragments of secrets—that's all! If you remember nothing else of what I am telling you, remember it is with such matters that Military Intelligence most frequently deals. I want to impress you with the seeming triviality of information you talk about because you never in the world would otherwise recognize that with it, combined with what he gleans from somebody else, the enemy agent builds many a picture ruinous to our plans—deadly to our troops."

We shall continue to do so until the victory is won and Axis slavery has vanished from the earth.

In the classrooms of the nation today we shall build the America of tomorrow, strong and mighty on the foundations of freedom and democracy. That the children of today shall not be victims of exploitation tomorrow, we shall do our part in helping to build and maintain the great bulwarks of the labor movement of America. This we shall do because we know that in no other way can the victories of the battlefield become meaningful in victory on the home front. This we shall do because we know that in no other way can the age of the common man become a reality rather than a fleeting fantasy. This we shall do because we know that herein lies the path to "democracy in education and education for democracy."

**MAJOR
ALBERT J.
STOWE**

**Military Intelligence
Washington, D.C.**



*Official Signal
Corps Photo*

Enemy agents want to know:

Where the important war industries are. (This is obviously valuable for sabotage purposes.)

What the critical shortages in raw materials are. (Some man may say to his wife that things are going fine at the plant except that they need a supply of radio crystals—or lenses, perhaps. The possibilities here are endless.)

What the food supply situation is in specific areas. The number of pupils in aviation schools.

The position of anti-aircraft batteries. (You may live near one. Don't talk about it.)

The date and place of departure of convoys. (There are innumerable ways that careless talk can betray this information to the enemy.)

Nowadays, modern methods of communication combined with highly developed intelligence technique place military information in hostile hands almost as fast as it drips from lips of the thoughtless.

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